

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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JOHN HUMPHREY NOYES, . . . EDITOR.
WILLIAM A. HINDS, . . . ASSOCIATE EDITOR.
F. WAYLAND-SMITH, . . . BUSINESS MANAGER.

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SOCIALISTIC NOTICES.

Respectable Advertisements of Communities, Coöperative Societies, and new Socialistic ventures of any kind, will be inserted, with the distinct understanding that the publishers do not thereby assume any responsibility as indorsing the character, moral or financial, of such organizations. The rate for these special notices is one cent for each word, each insertion, cash in advance.

WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is; but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is not, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry, and surely a trustworthy witness for the point he makes. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are, as I was a year ago, misled by supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community, when it seems no more to be the organ of that body than though such body had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, with others, and find it 'first best' of its class. Of all the *solidaire* Socialistic organs, it stands without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

PRISON LABOR.

The number of persons convicted of crime and confined in prison for terms of months or years has been, in the United States and other civilized countries, so large as to make their support a serious burden on the rest of the population. We can not give the exact annual statistic of the number thus incarcerated in the United States, but any one who has ever visited a State prison, or seen the rush of business at a criminal court, especially in a large city like New York, will have an idea of what an immense army the total number of convicts would make. Although they do not fare at all sumptuously the cost of their maintenance in prison has been so great that of late years the custom of selling their labor to contractors engaged in various manufactures and other businesses has sprung up. For example, a New York manufacturer of boots and shoes goes to the prison officials and bargains for the labor of one hundred convicts at a very low price, he furnishing the stock and taking the finished product to sell. A man who has a contract for cleaning the streets of one of the large Southern cities hires convicts in the same way to do the labor, only in this case they are chained together in couples or gangs to prevent their escape. In some localities ordinary agricultural labor is performed by convicts on the same plan.

This system not only greatly reduces the cost of sustaining the prisons, but has already made some of them self-supporting. Indeed, it is thought that they may be made to return a handsome revenue to the State, under shrewd management. This would seem, at the first glance, to be an unqualified advantage over the old plan which imposed a heavy annual tax on the honest part of the population for the support of the dishonest. But the workingmen already cry out against it, because their labor is now put in competition with this cheap prison labor. The shoe manufacturer finds he can not get his work

COMMUNISM.

I.

BY A RELIGIOUS COMMUNIST.

The spiritual influences of selfishness, interfering with the mind's freedom, make it difficult clearly to conceive of a state of society free from selfishness—such as true Communism. The instinct will go before the understanding, in our reachings after such a state. There is a natural *feeling* that Communism is the heavenly condition, and therefore the true and ultimate state of human nature; and yet it is very difficult, in what may be called the *obscurantism* of selfishness, to define Communism. In such a world as this any penny-a-liner can knock you flat on that subject, with a stroke of his pen. If you undertake to define the state of the angels, or the commonwealth of the day of Pentecost, he will cut you off with the assertion that selfishness is really indispensable to human nature—that a social condition which involves the abolishment of selfishness is entirely Utopian, and not to be thought of. And not only so, but he will go on and defend on philosophical grounds, as an absolute ultimate necessity, the individualism and individual-property system that now exists. He will defend the selfish principle, as though it were the ultimate state of human nature, and there were no possibility of its being changed. You will find he has the uphill side of you in the whole argument; your mind does not work well in the presence of such influences, and it is difficult to make out a satisfactory defense. Nevertheless, if there is to be any defense, somebody must force through this obscurantism, and learn to conceive of and defend true Communism—Communism with Christ, the angels, the Primitive Church, and the whole family of God. And for our part, we are willing to work uphill in this undertaking as long as it is necessary.

People in this country love and defend Republican-

Ministry, and surely a trustworthy witness to point he makes. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are, as I was a year ago, misled by supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community, when it seems no more to be the organ of that body than though such body had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, with others, and find it "first best" of its class. Of all the *solidaire* Socialistic organs, it stands without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Old subscribers express enthusiastic appreciation of the paper, whenever they say any thing of its character; but it is evident that the hard times are bearing so heavily on the tax-burdened people, that they find it difficult to spare a dollar or two for a paper they really prize. Now and then an able-bodied man writes sending a dollar and apologizing for not sending two to pay for a full year, by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks! Others, yet worse off, ask us to give them a month or two more in which to prepare for a similar payment. Such letters touch us in a tender spot, and we shall do what we can, without actually entering on the credit system, to help bridge over present poverty. In a few instances wealthy readers of the SOCIALIST have sent five dollars or more to pay for the new volume, the amount in excess of two dollars being intended as a gift to us. Such cases are rare, but they suggest a method whereby the real spirit of Communism might act so as to relieve poor people and at the same time extend the circulation of our paper, notwithstanding the hard times. Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription, and who is interested in our cause, send the dollar to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would like the SOCIALIST sent, and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume. That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack. There are plenty of men who can spare a dollar for such a cause as this, if they can but be appealed to. The success of any such plan depends on the earnestness with which our readers themselves will advocate and make it known.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

"The American Socialist, Oneida, N. Y."

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made to return a handsome revenue to the State, under shrewd management. This would seem, at the first glance, to be an unqualified advantage over the old plan which imposed a heavy annual tax on the honest part of the population for the support of the dishonest. But the workingmen already cry out against it, because their labor is now put in competition with this cheap prison labor. The shoe manufacturer finds he can get his work done in the prisons for a certain small price. His honest workmen must therefore do the work for the same price or he will discharge them and contract for prison labor. This grievance is looked upon as so serious that the Socialistic Labor Party has the following for the fourth plank in its new platform:

"Prohibition of the use of prison labor by private employers or corporations."

Here we have a case in which the interests of different classes in society are decidedly conflicting. It is for the interest of the rich man that the prisons should be self-supporting, because he is then freed from the tax for their maintenance. He therefore urges that the prison labor be sold, and at as high a rate as possible. It is for the interest of the contractor and manufacturer that the prison labor should be sold, but at as low a price as possible. And the workingmen declare that it is for their interest that it should not be sold at all, because they can not compete with it and support their families.

How shall these conflicting interests be reconciled? It is evident that the trouble is caused by the system of individual ownership of property on which society is now organized. If there were no private property owned by individuals, but every thing were held in common, the difficulty would vanish at once. All would then acknowledge that it was for the general good that the prisoners should labor for their own support. The workingman would not then be injured by such labor, but, on the contrary, he would thus be relieved from the necessity of devoting some portion of his own labor for their support. And as there would then be no rich or poor, but all would become workmen and all at the same time gentlemen of comparative leisure, all would readily agree on this point. Communism, then, furnishes one solution of the difficulty, by destroying class distinctions and harmonizing interests which are now hostile. Is there any other solution? Can the system of selfish ownership be so modified and managed that such conflicts of interests will not occur? The Labor Party seem to hope it can be done, but until we see it done we shall be strongly inclined to doubt it.

defense, somebody must force through this obscurantism, and learn to conceive of and defend true Communism—Communism with Christ, the angels, the Primitive Church, and the whole family of God. And for our part, we are willing to work uphill in this undertaking as long as it is necessary.

People in this country love and defend Republicanism, or individual liberty. And yet it is allowed by all reflecting men, and is even received as a popular doctrine, that liberty such as this country enjoys, requires a certain stage of civilization as its condition and basis. It is well understood and conceded among us, that a nation must have a certain amount of education and religious principle, in order to be fit for the self-government of republicanism. On these grounds, there are not many who would favor the direct extension of democratic institutions to the nations of Eastern Europe, and to the heathen that are beyond them. There are but few, indeed, who would maintain that such countries as Spain and Ireland are prepared for republicanism.

It appears, then, that we have one very good thing—a thing that every body praises and calls glorious—which yet can not be realized and enjoyed under all circumstances; and which, assumed in improper circumstances, would be very disastrous; as, for instance, the working of republican institutions in France in 1789 was as disastrous as it has been glorious in this country.

The people of this country, if they have learned that principle, should have good sense and logic enough to generalize from it, and admit that there may be a yet higher ideal state, which is entirely desirable and entirely practicable under right conditions, which is yet incompatible with existing barbarism and selfishness. They should apply the same principle to this superior state that they find applicable to republicanism; and expect disaster or success according to the conditions and circumstances in which it is attempted.

We think we have made room now to say, that as republicanism is a higher and happier state of human existence than slavery or despotism, but can not be enjoyed except by the civilized; so, Communism is a vastly higher state than mere republicanism, though it requires a still higher degree of civilization for its enjoyment.

Jesus Christ was most manifestly a Communist. He said to his Father, "All mine are thine, and thine are mine:" and then, directly upon that, prayed that all

believers might be one, "even as he and the Father were one." That certainly is a prayer for Communism. His relation to the Father is that of a thorough Communist. And for a moment, as it were, on the day of Pentecost his Communism manifested itself between believers; "all that believed were together, and *had all things common.*" It seems to us to be self-evident to the *instincts* of mankind, if not to their understandings, that Communism is the state of heaven, and that Communism is the only possible development of the heart of Christ, and, in fact, of ultimate human nature. It would seem not to require any argument (inasmuch as men's convictions are already formed in spite of themselves) to demonstrate that the relation of all believers in Jesus Christ, as they gather around him in a perfect state, is a family relation—a marriage relation—in which they can say to him and each other as he says to the Father, "All mine are thine, and thine are mine"—a state in which they come into the inheritance of all things.

There can not be any mistake, then, about the main point; and that is, that Communism is a higher state of human existence than mere liberty and individualism. And if you say that Communism, thus defined—Communism that proceeds from vital relations with Jesus Christ, such as exists in heaven, is *too* high a state—too far out of our reach to be thought of in this world—then we ask, why do you use the Lord's prayer, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done *on earth as it is done in heaven?*" For evidence that it is *not* impossible for Communism to be realized on earth, we point to the day of Pentecost, where all must see there was a development of it—a small but actual beginning. And who knows but that at this distance, mankind have advanced so that what was then possible only for a few and for a moment is now possible on a larger scale and for perpetuity?

Again, we appeal to still lower and more familiar facts. People have clear ideas of the *family* relation: and the family relation is a state of Communism. Every one praises and delights in the idea of home; it is referred to as all that is left us of paradise, and the basis of all good in society. Well, that is Communism, so far as it goes. If there is any distinction between the family state and the broader condition of society, it is just this: in the family, *Communism* reigns; and abroad, *Individualism*. Now it can not be very difficult to conceive that the family relation should be *extended*—should unite families, and spread through all minds, so that a whole nation, and at last the whole world, should become one family. Let simply the

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES BY E. T. CRAIG.

XXXV.

LABOR NOTES.

The notes were printed on stiff card-board, about the size of a gentleman's ordinary address card, being two and a-half inches long by one and a-half wide. The unit note represented the value of one day's labor, thus:

8 PENCE
For One Day's Labor.

There were other notes representing a half, a quarter, an eighth and a sixteenth of a day's labor respectively, or the equivalents for fourpence, twopence, one penny and a halfpenny. The usual wages of a laborer in the district at that time was the foundation of rates affixed as value. Above the unit notes were others representing one shilling or one day and a-half's labor, printed in red ink for distinction; and another equal to three days' labor, or two shillings.

These notes were received as currency at the store for articles produced on the Ralahine farm, for materials for clothing, fuel, rent, etc. The labor was recorded daily on a "Labor Sheet," which was exposed to view during the following week. The members could work or not, at their own discretion. If no work, no record, and therefore no pay. Practically the arrangement was of great use. There were no idlers, and as the currency was only available within the Community, the members gradually found themselves in possession of funds after their current expenses were discharged.

At the first issue of the Labor Notes there was some objection to them, on the ground that "they were not money." But when it was found that they could be exchanged for coin when necessary, or for food, clothing, etc., at their own store, the objection died away, and ultimately the notes were preferred.

The adoption of a distinctive medium of exchange of this kind had many advantages. It made the working operations independent of the outside ordinary currency. It gave the members full control over their own resources, and prompted them to habits of prudence and economy. The Labor Notes were not current outside of the Community. All the articles provided in the store were genuine. There could not be any motive for adulteration, false weight or measure. It was a law that neither tobacco nor spirits were to be sold in the store.

In less than twelve months after our establishment, the moral aspect of the peasantry in our neighborhood had become changed. No agrarian acts of violence were anywhere known around Ralahine. The peace of the district was so far secure that in the summer evenings I repeatedly found small dancing parties held in lanes, branching off from the main road. As evidence of the great change that had occurred among the peasantry towards myself, occasionally, on passing some of the cabins and dancing parties, young girls would come toward me, and with smiling faces courtesy as evidence of their respect, and as an invitation to join them in their Irish jig. We had dances twice a week at Ralahine, which I always attended when possible, as we thereby afforded amusement without the evil accompaniments attendant on the free use of "potheens." I never observed any evil effects from these social gatherings. Young men who had been hard at work in trenching or in following the plow, appeared to derive some benefit from the recreation, which always terminated at ten o'clock, when the gates were closed.

It was intended to raise the taste and extend the sources of enjoyment of the members, but there was a danger in attempting to advance too far or too fast for the mental condition of the people. The confidence of the people in my desire to benefit them was shown in various ways. They would sometimes confide in me so far as to relate some of the devices that had been adopted to frighten certain middlemen, landlords and stewards, to force them to convert grazing land into tillage farms, in the dark and desperate days before the "New System" at Ralahine was organized. Some of the stories made the blood run cold and the heart sick at the relation. I was told how the Steward of Ralahine was murdered, and why it was resolved to destroy him, and how the man who shot him escaped and was never brought to justice.

The change which had been effected was very remarkable. Less than twelve months had elapsed since the starving and indignant peasantry were united in making a "hell upon earth," to induce the landlords and their agents to allow them to toil and cultivate the earth for their subsistence, and now they were peaceable, industrious and contented under the New System which I had been instrumental in establishing.

For many generations there had been much pains and many penalties, with much preaching superadded, to induce the order, prudence and thrift which now prevailed at Ralahine, and which might be introduced into any district requiring them, to render well-directed labor not

family state and the broader condition of society, it is just this: in the family, *Communism* reigns; and abroad, *Individualism*. Now it can not be very difficult to conceive that the family relation should be *extended*—should unite families, and spread through all minds, so that a whole nation, and at last the whole world, should become one family. Let simply the spirit and principle that make home delightful be extended, and you have the element of universal Communism. It is the spirit that realizes unity of feeling and interest—that excludes from between brothers the barter and buying and selling of aliens, and keeps alive the solidarity of kindred life. This is all that makes home delightful; it is the family spirit—it is Communism. Thus we have already little beginnings of Communism the world over; wherever a family is, there is Communism. There is Communism between the mother and child—Communism between the husband and wife, where there is love and decency—and Communism between brothers and sisters, until they become hardened and scattered. The whole essence and virtue of the family spirit, and of “home, sweet home,” is Communism, wherever it exists even in a partial, shadowy degree. It does not seem altogether improper and Utopian, then, to think of condensing families—melting them together, and extending the feeling of consanguinity—which is in fact the actual relation of the whole race, though it has been long forgotten in the scattered condition of mankind. We see no reason why it may not be looked for and hoped for as possible, in this world. But whether it is attainable or not, we claim that it shall be admitted to be a *superior* state. If it is too high for us—so high that any attempt after it is Utopian—so be it. But we certainly ought not to decry it for that reason, any more than the Hottentots should decry liberty because they can not attain and sustain it. If we would think them fools to decry republicanism on philosophical grounds, because it is not adapted to their condition, why should not the angels think us fools if we decry Communism, simply because we are not prepared for it? Putting aside the personal reference, and looking at the subject abstractly, the least a person can do is to admit that Communism is a superior state—as much superior to mere individual liberty as liberty is higher than slavery.

300 men at Fort Wayne, Indiana, have offered to work for six months for the Pacific and Fort Wayne Railroad Company, if the company will give them and their families shelter and food.

operations independent of the outside ordinary currency. It gave the members full control over their own resources, and prompted them to habits of prudence and economy. The Labor Notes were not current outside of the Community. All the articles provided in the store were genuine. There could not be any motive for adulteration, false weight or measure. It was a law that neither tobacco nor spirits were to be sold in the store.

The plan is admirably adapted for Associations in isolated positions and starting with limited resources, and members not yet sufficiently imbued with the Socialistic spirit of holding all property in common. Had the experiment at Ralahine proceeded it would have been found expedient to adopt a plan of Labor Notes less capable of imitation, to adopt sufficient security for the issue, and for cancelling them when withdrawn. As it was, the amounts were correct, and the balance had to be met by means which I had to provide. The total amount required for circulation was £50, which should have been secured on the land or by securities in the hands of trustees.

The advantages of the Labor Notes were soon evident in the savings of the members. They had no anxiety as to employment, wages, or the price of provisions. Each could partake of as much vegetable food as he or she could desire. The expenses of the children from infancy were provided for out of the common fund. Peasants, who at the commencement, although young, appeared aged, care-worn, and half-famished, soon exhibited a marked improvement in their appearance, becoming healthy, lithe, cheerful and active. Some that were in rags or poorly clad had two suits of clothes and money saved in Labor Notes. All these results were attained while paying nominally the same wages as the farmers outside, owing to the economy of our arrangements.

The very marked and visible improvement of the members began to be appreciated by the peasantry. Applications were then occasionally made by persons in the neighborhood to become members of the “New System.” Each applicant had to submit to a week’s residence on trial, and to the ballot on admission. Great attention was paid to the physical and moral characteristics of the new admissions, and the results were highly satisfactory. The applicants had to apply to me, and having due regard to the future the selection was made of those whose heritage indicated health, vigor, and powers of endurance. The fine, manly appearance of the members often arrested the attention and commanded the approbation of visitors.

industrious and contented under the New System which I had been instrumental in establishing.

For many generations there had been much pains and many penalties, with much preaching superadded, to induce the order, prudence and thrift which now prevailed at Ralahine, and which might be introduced into any district requiring them, to render well-directed labor not only useful to the laborers themselves, but beneficial to the rest of society. The change realized among the people by the New System was such as to astonish all classes. Many who had had a long experience in the country, considered the plan of letting the estate, the farm-buildings, stock, implements, etc., to a number of wild, penniless, discontented, Irish laborers, some of whom had been concerned in scenes of outrageous violence, and possibly murder itself, as little short of insanity.

The results, however, fully justified the experiment. The landlord was relieved from a vast amount of care and anxiety, and the people were industrious, contented, and happy. Many of the peasantry began to hope that other large landed proprietors would adopt the system. On one occasion, when returning from Limerick, a Catholic priest met me, and insisted on my going to his house and partaking of refreshment, when he spoke in warm commendation of what I had accomplished, and expressed his gratification at the change and improvement among the people at Ralahine. A few months previously the priests and the clergy were utterly powerless to quell the riotous proceedings of the peasantry who were rendered furious by their wretchedness. The transformation of the conditions seemed a mystery to many. Socialism was more successful than military force. Socialism could induce poor, ignorant, Irish peasants to live in peace and harmony with each other. In their individualism every man was for himself at the expense of every other person. Now each found his interest promoted by promoting the comfort and happiness of all around him.

Ralahine became as a city set on a hill, and attracted the attention of men of all classes. Noblemen, landlords, thinkers and writers visited us to discover how far our system would promise a solution of the difficulties with which Ireland was afflicted. Some objections were urged against the New System, because it was “not in accordance with the rules of political economy, and the arrangement of landlord, farmer and laborer.”

It was because we held political economy imperfect that we had united the farmer and the laborer in the same person, and dispensed with the middleman. So-

cialism aims to unite capital and labor in the same person. Socialism, where only partially applied, had effected what neither the government, the soldier, the priest, nor the political economist could accomplish, and time and experience were alone required to reconcile it with science and biological truths. It is no longer a theory or Utopia, as in the days of Plato and of More, but a real, tangible verity, waiting only for prudent, practical development and extension by those who comprehend its purpose.

THE ERA OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

V.

THE IDEAL.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—In giving, somewhat in detail, a glimpse—and it is but a glimpse—of the general “make up” of our future chief commercial seaport, I have not forgotten the many attendant industries that necessarily fill up the schedule. At various convenient points on the East river and on the Hudson, those more familiar with the topography of the shore can locate in fancy the numerous large establishments needed for the building, fitting up, supplying and repairing of ships of all classes. Economy of production and convenience will assign to their proper locations—whether near at hand or hundreds or thousands of miles away—these and all other industries of the nation. The immense waste (which is beyond computation) that is now caused by the long establishment of special industries at great centers, from no other reason than that *there* they were first needed to meet local wants, or perhaps from circumstances purely accidental, and that continue them at such spots, under the present *régime* of individual control, simply because they *are* there, and because capital is concentrated around them, will have come to an end, and *general* instead of *individual* interests will give them a scientific distribution subject to easy modifications as the nation develops.

I can not imagine any important industries not directly connected with ships and shipping, and those needed to meet the local wants of the people engaged in these more important pursuits, that will find their natural home in the district of New York; so that it will not be at all surprising if, fifty years hence, New York, instead of having a population of more than one million persons supported by industries arising out of the business of the port, will hardly find employment for one-tenth of that number. So that I think we may fairly assume that the other 900,000 needed to make up its quota of population as a district will be distributed around the adjacent country as a mainly agricultural population.

And what a re-distribution there will be of the homes of the people! No suburbs here and there in the most unhealthy and least favored localities densely crowded with equally crowded tenement houses and corresponding and

haps, these ten bosses meet for consultation, and constitute a board of direction for the whole of the farming interest of the sub-district. They are all elected by their fellows on the same day in each year, and at their first regular meeting they elect from their own number, by majority vote, their delegate to the sub-district council, whose vacant place as farm-boss and as member of the board of direction, at the times of his attendance at the sub-district council, is filled by a deputy chosen by himself.

The same principle of management will apply to all co-operative industry of a productive kind, and it will be seen that it is far more systematic and orderly, and far more likely to secure “the right man in the right place,” than the method which prevails to-day, by which not fitness in the directors, nor the possession of a common interest and proprietorship in the aggregate results by all the co-operators, are the incitements to emulation for distinction and leadership, or to industry and the desire to excel; but the possession of capital and greed for profit on the one hand, and on the other a struggle to obtain as much as possible from the employers with as little labor as possible. Every man, under the social democratic *régime*, will feel that the farm or the workshop or the mine is *his* as much as any man's; that the implements and other aids to production are *his* as much as any man's; and that the whole products of *his* individual labor, reduced only by what is reserved for capital and by what is required to meet necessary public expenses, *will be his own private property*, paid to him—not in the form of corn or wheat or pork or beef or mutton, or boots or shoes, or chairs or tables, or coal or iron—but in the form of *wages* (money), estimated annually by the National Directors of Industries according to the value to the nation of the thing or things he has produced.

I have described (in the barest outline) the organization of a local *productive* industry; now let me give an idea of a future local *distributive* industry. In our sub-district of two thousand people we have four hundred families living within an average area of, say forty square miles (if it was square it would measure about six and one-half miles each way), for such a population, distributed over such an area, we should have to-day—I am afraid to say how many—stores of various kinds, large and small; employing I don't know how much capital, nor how many people. Instead of this there will be, under the new *régime*, perhaps half a dozen, perhaps one or two completely appointed establishments, divided into several departments, containing each in its proper department, unostentatiously displayed, every article required for domestic or personal use, and every department of industry that deals directly with the individual. Here also will probably be the post-offices, the telegraph offices, the public libraries and club-rooms, the public halls and churches, the local newspapers (public also and a *really free press*); Courts of Justice, and banks of deposit, where money can be placed

what occupation nature has fitted him for, even if he or they know. Necessity and opportunity usually dictate the choice, and accidental circumstances control his subsequent career.

Under Social Democracy (when fully developed), the education the boy or girl now gets at the public school at the hands of hirelings and where uniformity must necessarily prevail, he will receive at home at the hands of his own parents, who love him and know him and who are deeply interested in his welfare; and the *special* education or training that is to fit him for his industrial career, which no circumstances will prevent being the career of his choice, will be extended to him in public industrial schools, which will be inseparable parts of every department of public service, just as West Point is an industrial school for soldiers, except that the latter is limited to the privileged few for the training of officers, and who are worse officers than they would be had they to pass through all the grades of the army. Well, our young Social Democrat wants to be a carpenter, suppose; he is a “natural born mechanic,” as people say. He enters the technical school of that department of industry at an early age, a part of his time he spends there, learning his trade theoretically and practically. He also continues his general education at home, and his education as a whole is co-ordinated so as to meet the probable wants of his future career. By this means his parents make the best of him, the nation makes the best of him, and he makes the best of himself. Soon, the value of his labor to the public is more than equal to the cost of his training, and while still a boy he receives wages. By the time he is of an age to marry he gets his diploma as a workman and as an educated man; he is independent. Now he enters the department of labor of his own choice in class A, he receives the wages of class A; when he pleases, at the proper time, say, on the 1st of January or the 1st of July, on Examination Day, he submits himself to examination as to his progress and efficiency, and if he passes, goes into class B, and then receives the wages of class B; and so on from grade to grade. Workmen of the highest grades only, in each department, are eligible for election to any office. Should there be departments of female industry, girls will pass through a similar routine.

Rates of wages will (when all are under equal advantages in regard to educational training) be nearly equal as between the departments; variations from this rule will arise from too many applications for employment in one department, or too few in another. The law of supply and demand will govern both in regard to wages and in regard to the prices of labor's products.

A bad wheat harvest this year will increase the price of wheat next year, or a bad cotton harvest will increase the price of articles made of cotton, or a cattle murrain will increase the price of meat; but none of these natural calamities

fairly assume that the other 900,000 needed to make up its quota of population as a district will be distributed around the adjacent country as a mainly agricultural population.

And what a re-distribution there will be of the homes of the people! No suburbs here and there in the most unhealthy and least favored localities densely crowded with equally crowded tenement houses, and corresponding and contrasting suburbs beautifully laid out with parks and drives, dotted here and there with costly mansions and luxurious appointments for the exclusive benefit of the few, who could not even enjoy them without a host of servile dependents; but, instead of all this, along the banks of the Hudson, on Long Island and the other islands, and at every point of convenient access, nestled in orchards or shrubberies, surrounded with gardens, each (as I believe will be the case) detached and separate—the homes of the workers of New York will be found.

Now, let us imagine the Battery Park as the pivotal point of the district of New York under the Social Democratic *régime*; that the district includes Long Island and all the other harbor islands, and fifty miles inland in all directions; that within this area are included all the homes and the industries of 1,000,000 people; that it is divided into 50 sub-districts (or towns), each having a population of about 2,000 men, women and children, and each having its own democratic government for purely local affairs; that every coöperative or common interest in each sub-district is represented in the sub-district council by a delegate elected by a majority of the equal votes of the persons directly concerned in the industry or interest he represents; that every industry—productive or distributive—is a coöperative interest on the part of those engaged in it, and that consequently they are the proper authority to direct it, and its manager and representative is elected solely by them; that all other collective interests—such as the making of roads and bridges, streets and sewerage, gas-light, and fire departments, etc., in which all the people of the sub-district have a common interest—are represented in the council by a delegate chosen by a majority of the equal votes of heads of families, who will also be (probably in every case) householders.

But I must carry the dissection of the system a step farther:—let us suppose a sub-district having 20 distinct and individual industries; such as,—farming, building, carriage-making, tailoring, dress-making, shoe-making, printing, etc.; that the predominant industry is farming; that of the 400 men in the sub-district, 200 are farmers; that, for the sake of convenience and more efficient management, there are 10 farms, each employing 20 men. These men elect or re-elect by a majority vote, once a year, their foreman or boss, and he has the direction of their labor and the management of the business of that farm for that year. Once a week, per-

unostentatiously displayed, every article required for domestic or personal use, and every department of industry that deals directly with the individual. Here also will probably be the post-offices, the telegraph offices, the public libraries and club-rooms, the public halls and churches, the local newspapers (public also and a *really free press*); Courts of Justice, and banks of deposit, where money can be placed for safe keeping, and where money will be paid *by* the depositor for its safe keeping, not interest paid for its use.

Every department of distribution—such as, Dry Goods, Boots and Shoes, Groceries, Provisions, Meat, Fruit, Flowers and Vegetables, Furniture, Stoves, Fuel, Pictures, Books, etc.—will have its foreman or boss elected by the employees in his department (just as in the Industrial Department before described), and the bosses of the several departments will also elect or re-elect from their own number the heads of their respective departments, who will also represent them in the Sub-district Council.

It will thus be seen that the Sub-district Council will consist of the best representative men of all the departments of productive and distributive industry, who, together with the representatives of all other collective interests, elected at large by the people, will form a general Board of Control whose duty it will be to coördinate and regulate all public interests.

All interests which are not solely local in their character will be represented in the District Council by delegates elected from their own number by the heads of sub-district departments of such interests, and all interests of a national character will be represented in the National Council of Directors [see Articles 2 and 3] by delegates elected from their own number by the heads of such district-departments.

I am approaching the limits of my space, but there are yet two other points that I must touch upon before bringing to a close this sketch of my ideal industrial organization. I can do this the more easily because they are somewhat closely related.

First, then, as to Educational Industrial Training. At the present time we have no industrial training worthy of the name. All the systematic education a boy receives he receives at school, and in our public schools (more's the pity) all, no matter what their peculiar aptitudes or special faculties are, are trained alike. There is no pretense, even, to develop special faculties or to teach the pupils to do any thing with their hands besides writing and drawing. Thus a boy leaves school at a time when he is physically *able* to earn his living, and in most cases when it is necessary on account of the poverty of his parents that he *should* earn his living. What happens? Why, he wants, and his parents want to find for him, a place in which he can earn the most money immediately. This is done almost regardless of

or too few in another. The law of supply and demand will govern both in regard to wages and in regard to the prices of labor's products.

A bad wheat harvest this year will increase the price of wheat next year, or a bad cotton harvest will increase the price of articles made of cotton, or a cattle murrain will increase the price of meat; but none of these natural calamities will affect the wages of the farmer, nor will an unusually good harvest, etc. In either case there will be a national loss or a national gain.

Distinguished services will be rewarded by honorary distinctions as such services to science are now. People will value such distinctions, and seek to deserve them, far more than they now value and seek to possess grants of money; which would be, also, fruitful sources of corruption.

It will be in the power of every man, through industry and frugality, to obtain all the means of culture and rational enjoyment, that are not as public as our present public libraries, from the proceeds of his own labor; and the elimination of useless persons and classes, the cessation of payment for the use of capital in any form, the multiplication and extension of artificial motors and machinery, great chemical discoveries and the wise organization of all our industries, will afford abundant leisure and abundant enjoyment to all. There will be no need of individual saving, because a national system of insurance to provide against death, sickness and accident, and a superannuation fund for old age, will meet all contingencies that now cause the greatest anxiety.

This must conclude the IDEAL.

W. G. H. SMART.

CO-OPERATION IN CALIFORNIA.

From the San Jose Mercury.

The women of San Francisco who are connected with the benevolent order of Jannissaries of Light are soliciting subscriptions to enable them to start a Coöperative manufactory of white goods, that they may take advantage of the wholesale prices of the raw material of goods and provisions by uniting their varied faculties in one great power. By actual statistics it has been ascertained that there are thirty thousand men and women in San Francisco out of employment, and this movement, well managed, will extend its branches and its munificence to all the industrious poor of the city; not immediately, but in the no distant future; adding in time all of the mechanical trades and traffic in articles of every-day consumption. This result is no idle dreaming, but it has been over and over again practically demonstrated in Great Britain, and is blessing its tens of thousands of suffering poor by placing them beyond the possibility of want. In the manufacture of articles of every-day wear, from a child's sun-bonnet to a man's shirt, a dozen garments can be finished with fifty per cent. more neatness and dispatch by

a corporation than by individuals. The first advantage is in the purchase of the material at wholesale; then in the cutting, seaming, hemming, stitching, plaiting, ruffling, and so on to the finishing, each and every minute department being executed by separate individuals who know every turn of the hand which it requires on his or her part, through the laundry work and the salesroom, to the purchase of the raw material again.

While investigating this subject and adding our mite to its accomplishment, we had occasion to call on a professional lady shirt-maker who was pushing her vocation on the third floor of a hotel in a central locality in San Francisco. While there we learned the novel plan on which this hotel was running, which could be no other than a mutual benefit to the proprietor and his guests. The building, a four-story structure, is furnished complete by the proprietor with all of the conveniences of a private home, including kitchen and laundry, wherein the cooking-range, like the ancient valley of Hinnom, is kept a constant burning fire. The rooms are leased at a moderate rent, some to small families and others to single men, and others still to laboring women. The rooms, the dining-room included, where its long table is always set, are taken care of and lighted with gas at the expense of the proprietor. The store-room, or kitchen, has as many cupboards with keys as there are rooms in the house, which is sacred to the exclusive use of each tenant. The work of each roomer in preparing a meal, when everything is ready even to a table spread and set, and hot water always on hand for tea and coffee, is a mere nothing; some of them taking three meals and others only two, and what is left is consigned to each individual cupboard for future use. Many of the ladies preferring home-made bread bake their own, the oven always being ready. Here is house-keeping without the care of fire, lights or dish-washing, which every woman knows is the disagreeable part. This lady shirt-maker has an assistant and they both told me that they lived well on one dollar and twenty-five cents a week each, and rent and all cost less than fifty cents a day. Now to be brief, putting this and that together, coöperative manufactory and trade, and housekeeping on the above plan, with discreet management, what could be accomplished in the way of ameliorating the condition of the working-classes, or rather of the present idle classes, because of the impossibility of their finding employment? This plan commenced on an investment of one dollar each by one hundred women or men, or both, judiciously managed, would soon assume gigantic proportions.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, MAY 16, 1878.

THE article on another page from *The Star of Hope*, about the Esperanza Community and its applicants, shows that that small Community is already learning valuable lessons respecting the indispensable conditions

phase of the French Commune. Its strength and sudden growth may be judged from the fact that whereas in 1871 the Socialist party could command but 120,000 votes and two members in Parliament, it registered last year 497,000 votes, nearly one-tenth of the whole voting population, and returned twelve members to the national legislature. Of its recent rapid strides the conservative Community seems to have been almost unaware. On a late Sunday, however, a demonstration was made at the funeral of one of the Socialist leaders which has done a good deal to arouse public sentiment and disclose the grave dangers that lie hidden beneath the surface. The deceased was one August Heinsch, a foreman in a semi-Socialistic printing-house, and a successful propagator of Socialistic doctrines. His death was supposed to be occasioned by excitement and overwork in this cause. In the funeral procession fully ten thousand persons took part. Every one wore the red badge of the Commune. As many as a thousand women were among the number, and even little children, decked with crimson scarfs. Six members of Parliament, also ornamented with red, headed the line and lent official dignity to the occasion. In all the streets a vast multitude of astonished spectators was gathered. At the cemetery, belonging to one of the atheistic societies, very concise and informal ceremonies were held, consisting only of revolutionary and eulogistic speeches, and, singularly enough, a Lutheran choral, there being as yet no distinctively Socialist hymns or music. An ill-judged attempt was lately made by some of the clergy to establish a counter movement by organizing a party of "Christian Socialists." As the fundamental doctrine of Socialism is disbelief in Christianity, and the two are absolutely irreconcilable, of course the effort was a failure, and only brought contempt on its originators. Thoughtful people are awaiting further developments of the movement with no little concern.

—*Christian Union.*

We can not understand how any intelligent journal could make such a statement as is found at the close of the above paragraph, namely, that "the fundamental doctrine of Socialism is disbelief in Christianity." We do not believe it is true of any form of Socialism in Germany or elsewhere; but however that may be, it is certainly the exact reverse of truth in respect to many forms of Socialism. How absurd such a statement reads, for example, in view of the principles and life of the sixteen hundred German Socialists who dwell in the seven villages of Amana in the State of Iowa. "Their sole aim," they affirm, "is to become true Christians, not only Christians in name, but true followers of our Lord Jesus Christ;" and one of their rules of daily life is to "count every word, thought and work as done in the immediate presence of God, and give him at once an account of it, to see if all is done in his fear and love." And so of the thousands of other religious Socialists in this country, such as the Harmonists, the Shakers, the Aurora-Bethelites, the Brotherhood of the

small and very selfish portion of mankind have usurped the ownership of all the lands and prevented the use of a large portion of them, thereby controlling all the means of subsistence and forcing a large portion of their fellow beings into idleness, misery, destitution, and in thousands of cases, death by starvation, so that the aforesaid small, selfish class may horde and hold lands and property they do not need and can not use? (5.)

I would like to see the views of some of your scientists and wise men on the foregoing inquiries.

Yours respectfully,

W. R.

1. If all the advantages and economies of Coöperative and Communistic life were realized—which would include the just distribution of all the products of nature and man—population would certainly not press very hard upon the means of subsistence in some countries, and notably in America, for many years.

2. It is imperative that attention should be given to the quality of population, and undoubtedly this is quite as important as limiting its quantity.

3. There appears to be convincing evidence that population was crowding on the means of subsistence in this country as much when it was inhabited only by a few aborigines as it is at present.

4. Looking simply at this country, we can not say that "the destitution and misery of the present time are chargeable," in any important sense, to over-population, and certainly are not at all chargeable to "the inability of the earth to yield a sufficiency of the means of subsistence."

5. Undoubtedly very much of the present difficulty is chargeable to the unequal distribution of the means of subsistence, though we should not sanction any such sweeping denunciation of the rich as our correspondent's language implies.

But it will not answer to confine our view to this country. We must include the whole world in our horoscope. And if this is done, it will be admitted, we think, that population is in some places pressing hard upon the means of subsistence. China, for example, has only about one-fifth more land than the United States, but she has 450,000,000 people, or about eleven times as many as there are in this country! Can it be doubted that population is there pressing upon the means of subsistence? In China, says a writer in the *North American Review*, "Nature refuses to follow any further the increasing demands upon her fruitfulness, and a calamity stares the world in the face, to which even the fabled history of the race furnishes no parallel. It is easy to write down the fact that 70,000,000 Chinese are starving, but it is impossible for the mind

THE article on another page from *The Star of Hope*, about the Esperanza Community and its applicants, shows that that small Community is already learning valuable lessons respecting the indispensable conditions of harmonious Communal life.

"LA JEUNE ICARIE, *Organe du Communisme Progressif*" (Young Icaria, organ of Progressive Communism) has come to hand. It is a well-printed, four-paged monthly, devoted to an exposition of the principles and objects of the "Young Branch," as they style themselves, of the Icarian Community. It will also explain the difficulties at Icaria from the standpoint of those who are laboring for a division of the Community. These difficulties, we regret to say, appear to be as far as ever from a satisfactory adjustment. One of the articles in this first number which will be read with special interest is a communication written in 1856 by Cabet, the founder of Icaria, and showing that at that time the Icarian Community at Nauvoo was in a party-struggle similar to that which exists in the Icarian Community of to-day. There was then a majority of 91 members, a minority of 74 members; and the strife between the majority and minority was so great that Cabet himself felt constrained to say that "a separation is indispensable;" and he advised that it should be effected peaceably. His communication was dated July 14. On the 8th of November following he died in a fit of apoplexy at St. Louis. In the meantime a separation had taken place—a part of the members withdrawing from Nauvoo with Cabet at their head. After his death his followers founded a Community near St. Louis, whose lamentable history was told in the second volume of the *SOCIALIST* by M. Sauva.

The subscription price of *La Jeune Icarie* is 50 cts. Post-office address, Corning, Adams Co., Iowa.

GERMAN SOCIALISM.

The Socialist movement in Germany is assuming somewhat alarming proportions. In some of the large towns it seems to be approaching a crisis. In Berlin Socialist artisans are daily declaring their determination to leave the church, and it is thought that still larger numbers would secede were it not for the fine exacted from persons declaring such an intention. Socialists in Germany are atheists. The movement in its religious aspect is the outcome of the infidelity and formalism that have been for a long time growing within the church. Politically, it is only another

is to "count every word, thought and work as done in the immediate presence of God, and give him at once an account of it, to see if all is done in his fear and love." And so of the thousands of other religious Socialists in this country, such as the Harmonists, the Shakers, the Aurora-Bethelites, the Brotherhood of the New Life, etc., etc. They all claim to be followers of Christ, and to have modeled their social organization after the example set by the early Christians. There is, indeed, nothing in the platform of principles of the great and growing Socialistic Party of this country that justifies in the slightest degree the sweeping assertion of the *Christian Union*. The only ground of excuse that occurs to us for making such a statement concerning any body of Socialists is, that Socialists have in some countries turned their backs on the forms and ceremonies of the established or popular churches, and demanded in their stead that Christianity shall be embodied in forms of Society more in accordance with the spirit and life of the Great Teacher.—ED. AM. SOC.

THE POPULATION QUESTION.

Jersey City, April 26, 1878.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—Allow me space for a few words of inquiry on the population question, which has of late been considerably discussed in your columns. If all the people were instructed and organized to live in Coöperative Association, or better still, in Communities holding their properties in common, and they had secured all the advantages and economies of such organization, and had become more familiar with the unlimited productive powers of the earth, and had brought into use all its unoccupied and waste places, and ceased using any portion of it for the production of useless or hurtful articles, such as intoxicating drinks, tobacco, tea, coffee, and many others that time and space will not permit me to name, would not all this remove the danger of over-population (or, as it is more commonly stated, of population crowding on the means of subsistence) so far away in the dim future that it need give us no trouble or anxiety for a long time to come? (1.)

Would it not be better for us to consider how to improve the quality of population by organizing better conditions for its production and support? And would not the accomplishment of this object remove or do away with the necessity of considering the question of limiting it? (2.)

If we look back do we not see that population was crowding just as much on the means of subsistence in this country when it was only inhabited by a few aborigines as it is to-day? (3.)

Is the destitution and misery of the present time at all chargeable to over-population, or the inability of the earth to yield a sufficiency of the means of subsistence? (4.)

Is not the difficulty rather chargeable to the fact that a

means of subsistence? In China, says a writer in the *North American Review*, "Nature refuses to follow any further the increasing demands upon her fruitfulness, and a calamity stares the world in the face, to which even the fabled history of the race furnishes no parallel. It is easy to write down the fact that 70,000,000 Chinese are starving, but it is impossible for the mind to contemplate the dimensions of such a fact with any approach to appreciation of its stupendous character. A mass of human beings equal to the combined population of the British Islands and the United States, nearly equal to the total population of North and South America, packed into the northern provinces of China, have eaten the green earth bare, and are now in the throes of starvation. They have devoured the last traces of vegetation, have eaten the dry wood of fences and houses, have gnawed and swallowed their own wretched clothing, and have even fed upon the very soil itself, which no longer gives forth its vegetable treasures!" The fact that population does press upon the means of subsistence in China and other Eastern countries in such a manner as to enforce emigration by the hundred millions or starvation, compels the thought that with or without the aid of such emigration our own country must in time become equally densely populated, unless population is itself limited by beneficent checks, or by famine, war and pestilence. There is no dodging the issue. We may individually escape it, and so may our children; but it is still only a question of time. As sure as that two and two make four, so sure is it that population, unless it is controlled in its quantity as well as quality, will, ere many hundred years have passed, reach such a maximum that the inhabitable earth will have no more room for human beings.

The population question is not, however, a special hobby of ours. We regard it as only one of the many questions imperatively demanding a speedy solution. To limit the number of people in this world would avail little, so far as the introduction of the final Kingdom of Peace, Justice and Love is concerned, unless mankind and their conditions could be radically improved. If men are to retain their grasping propensities, it matters little whether they are few or many: human society will be a kind of pandemonium at best. And so, while we work for a victory along the whole line, we shall ever direct our chief attacks against the strongholds of selfishness, assured that no victory can be complete or permanent unless they are captured and destroyed.

—ED. AM. SOC.

REVIEW NOTES.

FARMING NEAR HOME: or State Legislation against hard Times. Being Suggestions for an "Act" to facilitate the Settlement of Land, the Promotion of Agriculture, Civilization and Coöperation, and for the Relief of Labor and Capital within the Boundaries of the Older States. Published by R. J. Wright, Philadelphia.

In a pamphlet of 16 pages, with the above title, Mr. WRIGHT prints a draft of an act, adapted more especially to the State of Pennsylvania, designed to bring about the forced sale or renting of unoccupied lands. The plan is elaborated with considerable ingenuity and care, and if wisely administered would no doubt increase the aggregate wealth of the State, and furnish many a poor man with the means of obtaining a comfortable livelihood. The author thinks it high time for the adoption of some measures to keep the people of the Eastern and Middle States at home and furnish them with employment; and if his plan could be carried out it would go far to accomplish this, for, according to his statistics, "there are in Pennsylvania 36 per cent., or 10,122 square miles, of unused land; in the Eastern and Central States of the Union, namely, Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont and West Virginia, not counting irreclaimable marshes, 37½ per cent., *i. e.*, nearly three-eighths of the whole amount of lands in those States, making 57,455 square miles of unused lands in said States"—which would give employment to many hundreds of thousands of people. But we apprehend serious difficulties in the execution of Mr. WRIGHT's scheme. As our Government is framed, we think it would be of doubtful constitutionality; the right of eminent domain empowering a State to take private property for specified public uses, but not for the purpose of dividing up again among a new set of owners. Time may change all this, and make it illegitimate for individuals to hold more property of any kind than they need for their personal comfort; but in the meantime we must adjust ourselves to things as they are, with the best grace possible, while we are trying to make them better. Leaving out the element of compulsion, we should like to see Mr. WRIGHT's scheme carried into effect; but we think a constitutional amendment would first be necessary to secure its validity. We hope, however, Mr. WRIGHT and others will keep at work "on this line" till the waste places are converted into fruitful fields in all the older settled States.

good in the current of public thought would seem to be the truest aim.

"Upon the basis herein set forth we ask the patronage of those who believe that the *Post* merits their interest and support.

"FRANCES E. WILLARD.

"MARY B. WILLARD."

This is a modest and refreshing programme. We hope they will succeed. Some of the best newspaper work is now done by women.

A NEW BOARDING-HOUSE

for Business Women, not so high-priced and pretentious as the Stewart Hotel, but better adapted to most working women, has been opened in New York City, by Miss Sarah H. Leggett, at the large and elegant dwelling, 61 Clinton Place, near Fifth Avenue. The founder is a business woman herself, carrying on a book and stationery store on Broadway, and her object is to found a home-like home for herself and such business women as will be her guests. No element will be introduced which is not in sympathy with trades-working and business women. "Her desire," says the *Woman's Journal*, "is to provide a home for this deserving class of society where they will enjoy every social advantage without being subjected to any other restraints than those which are necessary in every well-regulated household." "The meals will be of the best quality, well cooked, and nicely served, and at hours to suit the convenience of all. Sewing-machines will also be provided for the use of the inmates. Board, including use of bath-rooms, parlors, library, piano, and every privilege of the house, will be \$4 per week. The Library will be furnished with the best reading matter, and also with the leading periodicals and journals, which have been generously contributed by the publishers of New York. If any lady desires to have a room alone, an extra but very moderate charge will be made. In cases of sickness, meals will be served in the rooms, and attendance provided, without extra charge."

It is quite probable that the failure of the Stewart Hotel to meet the wants of any but high-salaried business women, will lead to the opening of many new homes like this of Miss Leggett's. They would be a great advance on the ordinary boarding-house system, and really steps in the direction of Socialism. T. L. P.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Vineland, N. J., May 7, 1878.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—From the many different remedies proposed for the hard times, and the small progress made in their application, it appears as

THE "WAGE LINE" IGNORED.

When one works for the pleasure of it the service rendered becomes an ordinance to him akin to worship. The "wage line" is not there to accuse him of working for *hire*. The hireling system is odious to many, not because the pay is not satisfactory, but for the reason that the system implies a sort of alienation of the parties, causing a sharply-drawn line between the employer and the employed, thereby obstructing what otherwise would cause a natural flow of mutual sympathy.

The employer and the employed, the capitalist and laborer, socially and morally speaking, stand on a level, and any arbitrary or fictitious distinctions between them that bar out common, God-given sympathy, each for the other's happiness and well-being, are wholly antagonistic to progressive civilization, and must sooner or later pass away as obstructions to social harmony. Chattel slavery has passed away, because it stood in the way of social harmony between the North and the South, besides blocking the wheels of human progress. And other social systems that are inherently opposed to, or stand in the way of, the peaceful march of Christian Socialism, will also pass away. The unity of a progressive race halts at no barriers that selfish institutions can throw in its way. The growing interest in philanthropic Communism that builds our asylums for the deaf and dumb, for idiots, for the insane, for aged poor, and for poor orphans and unfortunates, that forms societies to prevent cruelty to animals, both brute and human, and is ever on the alert for overcoming evil with good, is the kind of Communism destined, eventually, to settle the perplexing question of capital and labor, and all social disorders that are so inseparable from the Cain-like disposition that says, "Am I my brother's keeper?" It takes time, much enlargement of heart, and unwavering patience, to discover and confess that one's social obligations are as broad as humanity; and wherever a fellow being is in need of succor and sympathy, there one's love toward his neighbor finds legitimate ground for action. But the element of Bible charity, of the Pauline type, "that seeketh not her own," etc., is a factor of the utmost value in all business enterprises as well as benevolent ones, involving capital and labor or dealings of any kind between the employer and the employed. Poverty in the right kind of sympathy toward the working classes is a greater calamity to the industrial world than poverty of capital for new enterprises.

WRIGHT's scheme carried into effect; but we think a constitutional amendment would first be necessary to secure its validity. We hope, however, MR. WRIGHT and others will keep at work "on this line" till the waste places are converted into fruitful fields in all the older settled States.

WOMAN'S TOPICS.

One of the Chicago daily papers, the *Evening Post*, with a circulation, we believe, of 8,000 or 10,000 copies, is now edited and published by women. The late editor, Mr. Oliver A. Willard, recently died, and his widow and her sister-in-law, after failing to secure other conductors of the paper, have assumed charge of it themselves. They are ladies of culture and ability, and one of them, Miss Frances E. Willard, has won a national reputation as a lecturer and laborer in the Woman's Temperance Movement. The new editors give the following outline of their plans:

"The *Post* will be, as heretofore, and first of all, a newspaper. But, as the entrance of women into literature has helped to purify it, we hope their appearance as managers of a metropolitan newspaper may have a similar effect in secular journalism, so far, at least, as their own columns are concerned. Nothing less than the determination to bring with them the amenities and elevating influences which characterize their home life can justify women in entering circles of influence popularly thought to lie 'beyond their sphere.' The *Post*, then, will be more than a buyer and seller in the news market. It will aim so to outline the story of the world's doings to-day, that the reading thereof will tend to make the world better to-morrow. It will have opinions on all subjects of public interest; will address itself to a constituency located, not in bar-rooms and billiard halls, but in business offices and homes; it will warmly advocate all causes that tend to ennoble human nature, and will strive always to express itself in words which a woman might speak or hear. As heretofore, the *Post* will be a political paper, independent and fearless, lending its influence to such measures only as are calculated to hasten the time when all men's weal shall be each man's care. The relations and duties of the wise to the ignorant and the rich to the poor will be discussed 'with malice toward none and charity for all.' We hope to give the paper a literary character not unworthy its earlier record, and to make it of especial value to those interested in art and education.

"In the supplement every Saturday we shall present brief extracts from the best utterances of the week, gathered from the press, the pulpit, and the lecture platform.

"In brief, we intend to belong to the constructive rather than the destructive school in journalism. It is so easy to tear down—so difficult to build. To use what force one has in the way of momentum rather than friction to what is

CORRESPONDENCE.

Vineland, N. J., May 7, 1878.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—From the many different remedies proposed for the hard times, and the small progress made in their application, it appears as though their practicability is at fault. If there is any real virtue in Socialism or Coöperation why is it not adopted at once? The necessity is great, the progress imperceptible. I remember that nearly fifty years ago the same necessity existed in England that exists here now. Machinery was superseding labor, intense distress prevailed, and it was confidently predicted that the country could not go on many years without convulsions. Yet the same England still exists and is more prosperous than ever. It was proposed at that early day as the only remedy, to shorten the hours of labor, and Mr. Fielden of Oldham, a large manufacturer and M. P., started a society called the "National Regulation Society," the object of which was to reduce the hours of labor to eight per day. But no progress was made in his time, and we are to-day, so far as political or social improvement is concerned, about at par with previous ages.

If there has been any improvement it has been from the progress of machinery—the very thing denounced—and this same progress will go on and ultimately bring about the ideals of equality and Community in spite of all resistance. But this improvement must be in a new direction—not in manufactures, but in tilling the soil. When the time comes that every man can support his family from a rood of land, then all this distress will disappear, for it must be evident that no man need be in want of so small a quantity of land, and if he can make a living on it he will hardly immure himself in a factory at starvation wages.

France appears to be taking the lead politically and socially at the present time. Her small landed properties will force upon their owners the necessity of improving their agriculture and coöperation. In England also, the practicability of leasing or owning farms by the associations of coöperators is being canvassed. The Marquis of Ripon, as President of the Coöperative Congress, favored this plan at the annual meeting, April 22nd. The Agricultural Labor Union proposes to try the experiment, and we may live to see the large farms of Britain leased by coöperators after some plan similar to the Ralahine experiment in Ireland.

J. DONBAVAND.

ness enterprises as well as benevolent ones, involving capital and labor or dealings of any kind between the employer and the employed. Poverty in the right kind of sympathy toward the working classes is a greater calamity to the industrial world than poverty of capital for new enterprises.

The character of the sympathy under consideration may be illustrated by the following brief sketch of a small commercial enterprise which the writer has watched with much interest. A company was formed a few years since on Long Island shore for the manufacture of "fish-soil and fertilizers"—commodities always in demand at fair prices. But after the company had prosecuted the business for a few years it failed to realize the anticipated dividends. What was the trouble? The men employed performed their daily tasks uncomplainingly. Still something was lacking, for the results at the end of the season were unsatisfactory. Among the hard-working men were two brothers, who owned one half of the stock. One of the brothers *divined* the cause of the failure of the enterprise. There was no real sympathy between the manager and the men under him. This brother, whom we will call Mr. K., was offered the remainder of the stock, which he bought, and so the two brothers became the sole proprietors; and K. became his own superintendent, and began in a quiet way to revolutionize the methods of managing the men. Mr. K. was a believer in the philosophy of "selection." Men had been employed in previous seasons that he chose not to have in his service on account of their baleful influence on others. He liked neither their social nor moral *nimbus*, and after securing his force of some twenty men he discoursed to them something after this fashion:

"Gentleman: You have hired out to me for stipulated wages, which you will receive monthly; but I do not wish to regard you as *hirelings*; let the hireling line between us be obliterated in spirit, and allow me to regard you all as my partners in the business we are to prosecute. I do not like to think of you as hired men under me, but my associates, my equals and fellow-helpers. And it shall be a part of my responsibility to look after your personal needs—see to it, that you are well fed and not overworked. And, on the other hand, I feel confident that you will make my business your own. Having put all my money into this enterprise, I suppose, in business parlance, I should now be called a 'capitalist,' in a very small way; but as a capitalist, I see that I am not so sure of pay for my services as you are of yours. But let that

pass; we will work together as a band of brothers and enjoy ourselves as we go along, as faithful workers usually do."

Mr. K. was not a talker, but a *doer*. His programme was carried out successfully. The men worked enthusiastically the season through. They made their employers' business their own, and no father ever looked after his children with more paternal interest than did Mr. K. after the "boys," as they were called, that constituted his working force. A stranger might have watched those busy toilers for hours without making the discovery who among them was "boss." Yet he was there working among his hands, and as jolly as the merriest.

At the end of the season the hands were paid off, and Mr. K. had a handsome margin left as his share of the profits as capitalist and laborer united in one.

It may be said of Mr. K., in conclusion, and we trust without giving offense, that he is a believer in Christianity, and he believes also that humanity as a whole belongs to Christ, whether individual members of the race confess that fact or not. His religious creed, so far as he has any is simply this: "To do unto others as he would have others do unto him;" and he calls this his *every-day working creed*. He has no other. G. C.

CEREBRUM ABDOMINALE.

VIII.

Somebody, by this time, who feels indifferent to these disquisitions, is asking what pertinence they have to the objects of the *SOCIALIST*? So we will confess that we have a goal in our own mind, and have had from the beginning, which lies within the field of Socialistic interest, and it is this, to show that Community life is the very school of the heart; to show first that the heart needs education more than the brain, not only because it is the chief seat of human happiness and misery, but because its education is at the root of all other education, and then to show that Community life is to the heart what Colleges are to the brain. But we have not arrived at our goal yet. There are other things we thought of noticing on the way. In the present chapter, for instance, we had proposed to string together various philosophical speculations on the subject of this series which we have happened to meet with in our circumscribed reading. Religious ecstasy may form the theme of another chapter; Love and its reactions another; the Scriptural idea of the heart another; and then we shall come perhaps to the subject of heart-education, the development and perfection of which is to

jects, without looking through the windows of the outward senses; the apprehension is in the heart.

An English writer on the customs and literature of the Hindoos describes the experience or state of Indian Seers in the following language:

"The spirit, so long as the doors or senses of the body are open, has no essential personality, for the senses are divided and act separately; but so soon as these are closed the soul retires to the cardiac region, there awakens, and its faculties become one common sense, which perceives and converses with Deity. In this state the body is totally insensible to pain."

The "internal respiration" of Swedenborg and T. L. Harris is a phase or a phantasm of this same philosophy of the chest. Swedenborg says it was shown to him that man before the fall possessed a power of internal respiration which proceeded from the navel toward the interior region of the breast, but that after the fall it retired gradually outward toward the region of the back and downward toward the abdomen, till, at the time of the flood, respiration in the breast scarcely existed—its subjects were choked or suffocated—and finally it was wholly extinguished—those surviving only in whom external respiration was opened. Harris avers that the very secret and pivot of his associative movement is the recovery of internal respiration, which he likens to a "spiritual respiratory umbilical cord, running from God to man's inmost or celestial nature, suffusing him with airs from heaven," etc., etc.

Bulwer in "The Caxtons" discloses a taste for *cardiology*. This book bubbles all the way through with the idea that the great nervous center in the breast is what does for man—making his character and shaping his destiny. Those who have read it will remember the humor of the "saffron bag." To wear a saffron bag on the pit of the stomach was father Caxton's recipe for all good, and antidote for all evil; metaphorical, we understand, for education of the heart. Here is one of the bubbles: Pisistratus meets a reverse of fortune with noble courage and self-reliance, upon which Squills the family doctor, takes credit to himself and says, "That comes of strengthening the digestive organs in early childhood. Such sentiments are a proof of *magnificent ganglions in a perfect state of order*."

In the biology of J. H. Noyes the heart is put over the head, intuition over reason, power (or courage as Plato has it) over wisdom, in short the *cerebrum abdominale* over the *cerebrum capitale*. We find his theory of the human constitution put forth at length in a book he wrote many years ago, but shall not attempt

are only half-conscious of it themselves. The broad, bright road of others' happiness is where we most surely find our own. If we are wise, we sit where the sorrows of others eclipse our sorrows, where the good health of others lends to us a sweet contagion, where the joys of others shed light into all the crannies of our lives. "Who is the wisest man?" asked Pelopidas of his Pythagorean tutor. "He who seeks his own happiness in the happiness of others," responded Lysis, "for there he finds it sure." —Graphic.

From the Star of Hope.

THE ESPERANZA COMMUNITY.

A WORD TO APPLICANTS.

The Esperanza Community is in receipt of upwards of sixty-five direct and standing applications, besides as many more indirect ones, to join our Community. We could have had a hundred, if not two or three hundred members, and four or five hundred acres of land at this time had we said the word. The wonder is why we do not take persons in as fast as they apply, together with all the land that is offered us. The offers that have been made are *bona fide*, and from perfectly responsible parties, that we shall have all the money and lands we want if we can establish a harmonious Community here at Urbana, upon a Liberal basis. Now we ask, Is it not a shame and a lasting disgrace to beings who wear the human form, that we can not live together as men and women, brothers and sisters, in the bonds of friendship, love, and spiritual affinity, without infringing upon the rights of each other, or in any wise abusing or injuring one another? This is the problem to be solved, and when it is solved we guarantee that the capital will be forthcoming to build Esperanza right up, but the capital will not come until the experiment is tried and the problem solved. So you see that the Kingdom of Heaven is right at our door, and still we refuse to enter in. If we were to open the doors of Esperanza to-day to all, thousands would rush in and rush out just as soon, and why? Because they can not affinitize or harmonize with each other. The poet says that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread." Let us remember that harmony is Heaven, and then let us ask ourselves, Are we prepared to go to Heaven? How would we like to stand to-day in the presence of God and the angel-world with all our imperfections and faults, and evil practices and habits, standing out in bold relief upon our mental, moral and physical natures? Think you that we would not be ashamed of ourselves? And how long do you suppose Heaven would last with such discordant beings as ourselves to compose it? It would last scarcely longer than it takes us to write these sentences. Then why ask to join Esperanza until we bring our lives in sweet accord with the advanced principles and eternal truths on which our social edifice is established? It is not a dollar-and-cent movement, not a benevolent institution, only upon the eternal principles of justice and equity: not a general

various philosophical speculations on the subject of this series which we have happened to meet with in our circumscribed reading. Religious ecstasy may form the theme of another chapter; Love and its reactions another; the Scriptural idea of the heart another; and then we shall come perhaps to the subject of heart-education, the development and perfection of which is to be, we are sure, the crown of Communism.

In carrying out our programme for this chapter we must let Plato, the all-knowing, speak first, of course. His idea of the human constitution is that it is made up of these three parts or principles, Reason, Soul and Appetite. The whole body is formed, he thinks, for the Reason, and this has its throne in the head at the top of the frame. The Spirit or Soul has its seat *in the breast*, and the Appetite in the abdomen. Each of these parts has its appropriate virtue; Reason's virtue is wisdom, the Soul's virtue is courage, and the Appetite's is temperance. The Reason is immortal, but not the other two. This generalization is very interesting, though it may readily be presumed we should disagree with Plato as to Reason's surviving the occult principle in the breast.

It is quite a jump, in time at least, from Plato to A. Bronson Alcott, but for the rest of our sages, the order of their speaking is of no consequence. Alcott says:

"This logic of the Breast is subtle, occult. It eludes the grasp of the Reason. It is, and perpetually reaffirms itself—the I AM of the Soul. Inspiration speaks away from the present, face to face parley with eternal facts. It darts, like lightning, straight to its quarry, and rends all formulas of the schools as it illuminates the firmament of the mind. God enlightens the brain by kindling the heart; he is instant in the breast before he is present in the head. All reasoning is but self-finding, self-recovery. And the head but dreams of the heart, whose oracles are clear, as the life is pure, dark as it is base. Conscience receives the divine ray, and Reason reflects the same on the sense. The Conscience is an abridgment of God—an Apocalypse of Spirit—and man reads the secrets of ages therein; nor needs journey from his breast to solve the riddles of the world or divine the mysteries of Deity."

Disraeli speaks of that "best and highest ambition which is *born in the heart* and organized in the brain."

Jonathan Edwards exalted the heart. He had great respect for the intuitive faculty, which he called "the sense of the heart." He says that knowledge which comes through this sense may not only be called seeing, but feeling and tasting. The soul, he says, has in itself powers of apprehending objects, especially spiritual ob-

jects. In the biology of J. H. Noyes the heart is put over the head, intuition over reason, power (or courage as Plato has it) over wisdom, in short the *cerebrum abdominale* over the *cerebrum capitale*. We find his theory of the human constitution put forth at length in a book he wrote many years ago, but shall not attempt any general sketch. The following is one position and line of argument:

Man is a compound of spirit and matter, part of his nature visible and part invisible; and the visible and invisible elements touch each other primarily not in the brain but in the middle of the lower part of the breast. For proof take first the testimony of nature or consciousness. Ask any simple-minded person where he *thinks*, and he will touch his forehead; but ask him where he *feels* love, jealousy, remorse, joy and sorrow, and every kind of emotion, and where the energy of his *will* asserts itself, and he will lay his hand on his breast. The brain conveys information to this region, as the eyes and other senses do to the brain, but the ultimate sensation is in the pit of the stomach. Consciousness is confirmed by physiology. Dividing the corporeal nature into two departments, the nerves and blood, or two systems, the nervous and sanguineous, the first having its center in the head and the last in the chest, it is to be inferred that the residence of the spirit is in the last, or sanguineous department, because that is first in order of growth and inherent importance. Appealing last to the Bible, Mr. N. shows that it gives its vote all on one side. In Hebrew metaphysics the heart overshadows the intellect as much as the intellect overshadows the heart in Gentile science.

THE war of the Pathies is raging in Norwich, Conn., one party refusing to heal or kill the sick of another. Pathy is permitted to try its hand in the business under the same roof. Both Pathies might be excused from four-fifths of their calls, if people would take better care of themselves, even within the range of their present limited knowledge. Judicious work would cure half the diseases that afflict society, and thoughtfulness for others who are worse off would banish half of the remainder. Ennui and depression and nervousness, and all their brood of evils, result generally from too much introspection—too much thought of ourselves and our troubles. Our own ills can frequently be banished by thinking earnestly of the sorrows of others, and trying to diminish them. Enlightened care for others is the truest self-care. Philanthropists rarely have chronic troubles, and if they have, few friends know of it, for they

will not long do you suppose? There would not with such discordant beings as ourselves to compose it? It would last scarcely longer than it takes us to write these sentences. Then why ask to join Esperanza until we bring our lives in sweet accord with the advanced principles and eternal truths on which our social edifice is established? It is not a dollar-and-cent movement, not a benevolent institution, only upon the eternal principles of justice and equity; not a general "soup-house" for all, only as we earn the "soup" before we eat it. It is no place for the drone or the idler; it is no place for a tyrant, or pope, or dictator, in any sense; no place for the over-wise or over-righteous, who can not bear to have their pet theories, or dogmas, or creeds, or hobbies, discussed or investigated, and the full blaze of the meridian sun of truth thrown in upon them. Those who can not stand the light of truth and free discussion upon all subjects, habits, practices, customs and fashions need not apply, for if they were here they would not stay a week, for though we propose to deal gently with each member, and kindly and charitably with all, yet we shall investigate and discuss every opinion, every creed, every hobby, and every system or subject with which the human mind can grapple. So if you have pet theories, or hobbies, or opinions, or creeds that you do not want ventilated, investigated or placed on trial in the crucible of truth, do not come to Esperanza with them.

Now, friends, we would say in regard to getting into Esperanza that if you are really and truly a Liberal Communist, and understand exactly what constitutes a Liberal Communist, then we want you at Esperanza just as soon as we can make a place for you, and will extend to you the hand of fellowship, and all the friendship and sympathy of our natures, for we have glorious work, and much of it to do. But we first want you to understand what is required, and that is to place your life and all your labors and earthly means upon the altar of Communism, and be liberal minded, liberal-hearted and charitable and harmonious in all your relations with the organization and members thereof. We aim for a high standard of life, and propose to have that standard, or none at all. Now, friends, it depends on you alone whether you enter the portals of Esperanza or not. We want you all here with us, and many more, if you can come without bringing your selfishness and bad habits and practices and discords with you, for these would breed war immediately and continually, and we are heart-sick of war and contention. If you want *these* stay where you are, in the old dispensation, and "fight it out on that line." But if you will bring purity and charity and love and friendship and kindness and goodness and sweetness of temper and disposition, with temperate, frugal and industrious habits, and bring along your means, and labor and devotion to principle, and endeavor to grow into the light of wisdom and truth in all things, and still further endeavor to make your lives pure and holy in all

directions, then come to Esperanza, and we will receive you with open arms. We would make room for thousands of such persons here to-day if we knew they were of that class and order of beings, even if we had to "tent" for a season on the beautiful prairies, and if we had that class of beings here to-day the capital would be forthcoming in a month to build up the grandest Unitary Home on the American continent. THESE ARE FACTS, FRIENDS. Letter after letter comes to us from almost every State and Territory of our Union, and even across the great deep, with these interrogatives: "How can we get into Esperanza?" "What are the requisitions for membership?" etc., etc. We have answered these questions as above, and we reiterate here that Esperanza is established upon the bed-rock of human justice and equity, the complete devotion of the life and labor and means of all its members to principle, to industry and economy; to liberty, freedom and growth; to liberal thought, charity and forbearance; to purity, truth and goodness, and the religion of humanity in its highest sense. This is the door through which humanity can enter the portals of Esperanza, and all other doors of ingress are closed and barred. We can not establish Communities on discord; that has been tried, and failed every time. You can not establish heaven on hell, and discord is hell. So, good friends, Heaven, or Harmony (which is the same thing), is being established right here at Esperanza, and it is for you to prepare yourselves to enter its doors and give us evidence of the same. Heaven is based on truth and goodness, love and wisdom, and this is harmony. We want all the world to enter the folds of this higher life, and expect it will sometime, and will do all within our power for that end, but you, friends, must do *your part*, and regenerate and reconstruct yourselves as we of Esperanza have tried to do, in order to actualize the blessings of Harmony, or Heaven. All can understand plainly now by what door they can get into Esperanza, and upon what terms. When you can harmonize with Esperanza, and Esperanza can harmonize with you, upon an intimate acquaintance, and all can work shoulder to shoulder, for the grand principle that underlies our movement, then we can all live under the same roof, break bread at the same table, and ride in the same boat together. Then we ask:

1. Do you understand our doctrines fully, and fully accept them?
2. Are you willing to devote all your means, your labors and your life, to the building up of a harmonial life?
3. Are you willing to be liberal and charitable to all, and do your part fully in all things?
4. Are you willing we shall become mutually acquainted with each other before uniting, to see whether we can harmonize or not?
5. Are you sufficiently devoted to the Communistic principle to bear a little discord and disharmony at first, until we

nistic character, that is to be explained by the higher development of civilization, and is also entirely in the just and natural order of things."

The Boston *Advertiser*, one of the most conservative newspapers in the country, very justly remarks, in commenting on this utterance, "a great danger lies in the confusion of words with principles, and so becoming alarmed at the latter." Communism has been taken usually for a scheme of plunder and conflagration. The scientific Germans, among whom it has been more fully developed than elsewhere, look upon it simply as one of the forms or rather means of social development. Communism in this sense is just as necessary as private property, and will exist along with it, and be supplementary to its uses. We are sure to have more Government instead of less, and all Republicanism which has for its aim the greatest happiness of the greatest number, is in essence Communistic, as the State wields all its powers to secure the peace and advance the interests of its citizens. In our next great industrial crisis we will probably see the credit of the Government used where the credit of individuals has failed, and great public works prosecuted by the money of the nation when private industry is prostrated. In this way the interests of the nation will be advanced by the construction of needed national improvements, and the laborers be kept in employment.

RECEIVED.

LE DARWINISME CONFERENCE: Donnée a la Librairie-Pensée, par M le Doctor Yseux. Bruxelles: D. Brismée, Imprimeur. 1878.

JUST TO PLEASE THE BOYS. New Serio-Comic Song. Words by Jerry Cohen, Music by William A. Huntley. Published by F. W. Helmick, Cincinnati, Ohio.

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST. Organ and Property of the Socialistic Labor Party. "The Earth is man's and the fullness thereof." Cincinnati, O. John McIntosh, Editor.

USEFUL EDUCATION. A Paper Read at a Meeting of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, Mar. 21, 1877, by R. Bingham, 3d Edition. Camden, N. J.: Philotechnic Institute, 1877.

HISTORY OF THE WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE CRUSADE. A Complete Official History of the Wonderful Uprising of the Christian Women of the United States against the Liquor Traffic, which culminated in the Gospel Temperance Movement. By Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, Author of "Woman's Work for Jesus," "A Jeweled Ministry," etc. Introduction by Miss Frances E. Willard; Published at the Office of the Christian Woman, No. 11 N. 13th St., Philadelphia, 1878. Price \$2.00.

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

The Sepoys are coming.
 Ruskin is getting well.
 I am still of the opinion that plain living and sweet thinking is about the right thing.

Why don't somebody get out that old word about the Democrats "Gerrymandering" Ohio?

Mulligan is his name, him as is the gentleman that is going to organize the Fenians, and take Canada.

Mr. Zamacona, the Mexican Minister, has been duly pre-

were nearly beside themselves with joy. We may expect to see a free Ireland by and by.

Bret Harte has been promised the Commercial Agency at Crefeldt, Germany, which pays about \$3,000 a year. Let him have it. He can study some, and write a story once in a while, besides attending to his official duties.

The Democratic members of the House have not introduced that resolution to investigate that Florida business. The threat of an investigation is probably more annoying to the Republicans than any thing the Democrats can do.

Professor Baird of the National Fish Commission expects to stock all muddy-bottomed inland waters of the United States with carp—a hardy fish which always stays at home. He has put 50,000 into Lake Babcock, city of Washington.

The Japanese keep a tally of their earthquakes. The record goes back to the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, and has a mention of 149 destructive earthquakes. The recorded average is one great earthquake for every ten years.

The Syndicate has called for another \$5,000,000 worth of the 4½ per cents., making \$25,000,000 in all that have been demanded on the contract. This looks as if men had got over making 40 per cent. per annum on capital invested in trade and manufactures.

Japan arrived at the paper age sometime ago. The Western world will come to that stage soon. The Germans are now making paper chimney-tops, and car-wheels are made of the same stuff. The California cactus affords a new material for the paper-makers.

The International Silver Commission will probably meet soon. Greece has accepted the invitation of this Government to join such a Commission, and it only remains for us to appoint our men and settle the relative values of gold and silver, for the purposes of coinage.

The excavations at Olympia, the place where the Olympian games used to be held, are affording a great deal to interest the historian and artist. "The body of the infant Bacchus who sat on the arm of Hermes" has just been dug up. It is one of the works of the great Praxitiles.

The mills of Minneapolis grind sure and exceeding fine. Gov. C. C. Washburne will rebuild his destroyed mill, and make it the largest in the world. It will be ready in time for the new wheat. We like to see a man whose spirit is not blown out by an explosion nor crumbled down into ashes by a fire.

If the manufacturers of New England and the Middle States are allowed to have a tariff to keep out the cheap fabrics from Europe, why should not the workingman and Hoodlum of California have a tariff to keep out the cheap labor from China? They could go to work then and stop their desperate noise.

and your life, to the building up of a harmonious life?

3. Are you willing to be liberal and charitable to all, and do your part fully in all things?

4. Are you willing we shall become mutually acquainted with each other before uniting, to see whether we can harmonize or not?

5. Are you sufficiently devoted to the Communistic principle to bear a little discord and disharmony at first, until we can all grow into harmonious relations? L.

A POINT AS TO COMMUNISM.

From the New York Graphic.

Hardly a day passes that some of our newspapers do not contain denunciations of Communism and expressions of alarm at its spread. As we have more than once pointed out, this country has nothing to fear from the Socialism or Communism preached by a few foreigners. Its advocates have no followers, and what they advocate has no attractions for American citizens. Communism in this sense is a man of straw. On the other hand, the only persons who really do act upon the principle that one man's property ought to be transferred to another, simply because the latter wants it and can contrive some means to get it into his power, are the lawyers. Against this form of Communism the protests are beginning to come from all quarters. The real danger to the private property of this country lies in its alienation in accordance with the forms of law for the payment of the alleged services of lawyers, and not in any wild scheme of wholesale division of the estates of the rich among the members of the community.

But it is worthy of notice that there is a sense in which "Communism" is a great blessing. Communism originally meant undivided property—that is, common property. Now, with the advancement of civilization, governments, while casting off some of their old functions, are compelled to take on new ones. The common property of the community at large is, therefore, constantly growing, not so much at the expense of the private property as along with it. Our public-school system is an instance of Communism in this sense—the whole Community supplying the means of educating the children of each of its members. The Post-office, the Police system, the Army and Navy, the Health supervision and, indeed, every means taken to protect the individual against his own shortsightedness and the false representations of others, as adulteration acts, legislation providing for the inspection of banks and insurance companies, protective tariffs and similar measures, are all instances of Communism. And, as a distinguished German political economist, Professor Adolf Wagner, has pointed out, this form of Communism is more likely to increase than diminish; and he declares boldly that "the social economy of Germany is continually taking on a more and more Commu-

I am still of the opinion that plain living and sweet thinking is about the right thing.

Why don't somebody get out that old word about the Democrats "Gerrymandering" Ohio?

Mulligan is his name, him as is the gentleman that is going to organize the Fenians, and take Kanada.

Mr. Zamacona, the Mexican Minister, has been duly presented to the President of the United States.

The Pennsylvania Central has prison cars in which to shut up fellows who try to steal rides on that road.

What if you have come out Spring-poorly? I wouldn't think of joining the army of everlasting invalids.

Joseph Cook has come to that stage of notoriety where he has to be content to see folks discount his reputation.

The *American Architect* says you can't design a real pious-looking church unless you have some religion in you.

The Pope isn't a speech-maker, and so he discourages those folks who want to make addresses calling for replies.

The latest idea is to have insurance companies to insure the honesty of clerks, cashiers, and others holding places of trust.

The British Liberals don't Kaffir war in South Africa. It is the prospect of an unpleasantness with Russia which disturbs them.

Macaulay left a prediction that attacks on property through legislation would at sometime be made in the United States by a majority.

The New Yorkers ride on the Gilbert railway, and congratulate themselves that they do not have to go rushing under ground like the Londoners.

Kearney, the San Francisco agitator, will have to talk to himself by and by. The more conservative workmen of that city turned him and his set out of one of their meetings lately.

The British don't show any signs of giving up their preparations for war. They have just received 1,500 tons of preserved meat from the United States, principally from Chicago.

That unhappy American citizen, called a Fenian, has put up his ill-carved head, and is a-looking toward Canada. The piscatorial clubs and Kanucks will attend to all the finny 'uns by and by.

The Prince of Wales has assured the French Government that England will not take any measures respecting the Suez Canal without first consulting France. If that isn't a fish-story it is a *Whales'* story.

A Russian corvette saluted an Irish flag carried by some excursionists in the Bay of San Francisco, and the Irishmen

a fire.

If the manufacturers of New England and the Middle States are allowed to have a tariff to keep out the cheap fabrics from Europe, why should not the workingman and Hoodlum of California have a tariff to keep out the cheap labor from China? They could go to work then and stop their desperate noise.

A Vermonter, desirous of seeing Washington to the best advantage, has asked the President to let him come and make his home at the White House. You see he is too dainty to endure the common boarding-houses, and too shrinking to encounter the hotel clerk, who is one-half impudence and one-half hospitality.

Madame Ida Pfeiffer, the great traveler and authoress, recently held a "Greek costume *soirée*" at her home near London. There were about 120 guests present, and she herself was attired as a lady of Athens in the time of Pericles. The object of the *soirée* was to create a taste for a more simple style of dress than that now in fashion.

The *Council Bluffs Globe* is responsible for this touching account of "Mary's Little Lamb:—"

Begorra, Mary had a little shape,
And the wool was white entirely;
An' wherever Mary wud sthir her sthumps,
The young shape would follow her completely.

Collins & Co., the American contractors who are engaged in building the Madeira and Mamora Railroad in Brazil, have been trying to engage 250 colored workmen in Washington, but the negroes are scary lest they shall be held in that country as slaves. Only 125 men have been hired, notwithstanding good wages are offered and free transportation both ways.

The humorous paragrapher is not a sign of human degeneracy. He is an indication that the race is progressing to some good purpose, and has, in spots, got to a place where it can rest for a moment on the edge of a sharp stone and give arrow for arrow to outrageous fortune. The gentle savage has to be serious: he has no quips and cranks, and sense of victory.

General Butler is talked of as the Greenback and Labor candidate for Governor of Massachusetts. He is also credited with saying that he had rather be Governor of Massachusetts than President of the United States. Oh Ben, let us kiss you! a man who thinks the best is too good for him is in a fair way to be an angel, provided his modesty is not of the dog-in-the-manger kind.

Captain Eades has done more than four-fifths of his work on the jetties at the mouth of the Mississippi, but he has only got about *one-fifth* of his pay, and he is consequently embarrassed in the prosecution of his job to its end. He is under the necessity of asking Congress to make a change in

the present act so that the money can be paid out to him a little faster than it has been so far.

The English cotton manufacturers have injured their own market in the East by sending thither dishonest and worthless goods. Some of their cottons which they have sent to China have fully 33 per cent. of "weighting," which comes out at the first washing. The Orientals are revenging themselves by learning how to manufacture cotton goods for themselves on European machinery.

This National Greenback Labor Reform Party has got the idea that there is nothing to be done but to have the Government get up and do the right thing. That is what every country that has a legislature is trying to do now. The civilized world has come to an age of consciousness, and has given up working and groping by instinct, and gone to studying its situation, and legislating more or less carefully and honestly. You must be patient, gentlemen.

E. Alexeieff, one of the Russian officers on the Cimbria, has been in New York, flitting rapidly from one point to another and saying nothing that the reporters could get hold of, but holding long sessions with Mr. Bodisco, the Russian Consul-General. Every fast-going steamship is supposed to be engaged to the Russians. It is found that there are no less than 125 of these ships in market, and their owners feel stiff and rich. We shall see how many they sell.

The House Committee which has in charge the different propositions to amend the machinery for Presidential elections has voted to amend the bill proposed by the Senate Committee, by providing that in case frauds in the Electoral College of a State are alleged the decision of the Supreme Court of the State shall be *prima facie* evidence for the two Houses of Congress. This to show that something is doing to save us from another 8 to 7 affair.

That specter of Communism jumps up and scares us every week, like a stage-ghost springing up from a covered box. It has not affected the prices of stocks yet, and the gun-makers of New York say that they are not selling any arms to speak of. But it must not be concealed that there are a large number of persons who are beginning to think and talk about our present modes of getting and distributing the good things of this life, and are not at all contented with their own shares.

Dr. Luiz Hernandez, of New Granada, professes to have found a half-breed farmer among the foot-hills of the Sierra Mesila, Miguel Solis by name, who confesses to being 180 years old. The way he does it is to never gorge himself with food and never to get drunk. He eats only once a day, and once a month he fasts and drinks much water. But how was it with him when he was a boy and ready, if waked up in the dead hours of night, to attack a "big boggy bun?" His hair is white, and his face has got by looking like a dried apple; his skin has become like parchment in color.

Henry Ward Beecher is reported to have said of his sister, Catherine Beecher, whose recent death is mentioned: "Mr.

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Henry Ward Beecher is reported to have said of his sister, Catharine Beecher, whose recent death is mentioned: "My earliest recollections of her are in connection with Professor Fisher, in 1822. I remember very distinctly when the news of his death came, and the wretchedness it caused my sister. It caused a breaking up of her whole religious faith. She found no relief in her distress from the ordinary consolations of religion. A great sorrow sometimes gives a wrench that the whole life does not suffice to put back. It is useless to speculate as to what her life might have been had she been fortunate in her love, and become the mother of a family."

The Russians have consulted Professor Bluntschli, and have got an opinion from him to the effect that they can go a privateering provided that their privateers are not exactly privateers, but are regularly commissioned and officered vessels in the navy. This looks like a respectable plan, considering, but where can they take their prizes when the British navy blockades the Euxine and Baltic? This consulting the professors of international law by a great nation reminds one of the time when the Roman citizens went to their jurisconsults to get an opinion on some point of law, and the ancient Irish went to their Brehon lawyers instead of to a judge as we do in these latter days.

A Roman correspondent of the *Hartford Times* has been visiting the studio of W. W. Story, and he thus speaks of that famous "Cleopatra": "All who have read the 'Marble Faun' of Nathaniel Hawthorne will remember his masterly description of this work of art; but even that, it seems to me, falls short of the magnificent reality. You must stand in the presence of this really great creation in order to comprehend fully its beauty and grandeur. She sits with bowed head, in deep thought; her face is of wonderful beauty, and yet it is a beauty that frightens as well as charms; her form is in apparent repose, and yet there is the action of a crouching panther about to spring upon its prey. Every line is flexible and beautiful, and the outward loveliness and the hidden subtlety of the form reveal what no language can describe,

"The star-eyed Egyptian,
Glorious sorceress of the Nile."

We have been waiting all the week to hear what Count Shouvanloff, the Russian Ambassador at London, is going to say to his Government. He left England last week for St. Petersburg, and it was understood that he had some particular information to communicate as to the precise points of Beaconsfield and Salisbury's objections to the treaty of San Stefano. *Nihil fit*, and *Nihil* says nothing. The Turks are holding on to Shumla and Varna in order to make the Russians retire from Constantinople to Adrianople before giving them up. It is reported that Todleben has withdrawn a little. This action on the part of the Turks does not apparently involve the withdrawal of the British fleet from the Marmora. The mission of Shouvanloff quickened the expectation of peace, but nothing having come from him every thing has fallen back into the old uncertainty. Meantime the British have raised some new idea about guarantees which is likely to still further embarrass negotiations.

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